1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

meeting except instalments of a life-long fine, which are collected at home.

The services requisitioned by the *desa* are almost all of them connected with religious matters. The preparation of the offerings demands a great deal of work, which must be done by the male members of the *desa*. A person who fails to fulfil his duty is fittingly punished, and even those who are prevented by illness from performing their services are confined to their homes for three days. The men also have the duty of appearing with their fighting cocks on certain occasions, and the women *desa* members are required to rear pigs to be sold to the *desa* for fixed low prices in order to be used in the purification rites.

These duties of *desa* membership are counterbalanced by certain advantages. Everyone who takes an active part in the *desa* offering ceremonies enjoys the yield from a *bukti*. The *desa* members, including the officials, have a different share each year; the plots for the others are fixed *sawahs*. Since the number of core villagers is variable, the number of *buktis* differs from year to year, and hence also the number of plots left over as *chariks achi*.

Each of the *pĕngluduhans* except the newest pair has as his share two and a half plots, while the two most recent *pĕngluduhans* have four plots each for the first year. *Desa* members of the higher ranks also have four plots each. The shares are reapportioned each year on the first day of Kasanga, the ninth month. On this date the *desa* members gather in front of the *bale agung*, where the *klihans bahan* sketch a rough map of the *buktis* and in order of seniority the members make their choice. (Nowhere else on Bali is a map used in this way.)

A newly married person does not receive a share until the next apportionment, while if, as a result of the marriage of a child, a man loses his *desa* membership before the rice is ripe, he forfeits his right to his yield, which instead goes to the *desa* treasury. Consequently most marriages take place in the month of Kasa, when the rice is golden yellow in the fields – this in contrast to the rest of Bali, where marriages usually take place after the harvest, because there is then money for the wedding.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

584 handed. Should it be known, however, that the girl has been
683 abducted against her will (*melagandang*), the pursuit is real and the kidnapper may be badly beaten and even killed if caught by the girl's relatives. In Badung even forceful kidnapping is legal if the girl is taken in daytime and not from her house; then, as often happens, if the girl chooses to remain with her forced husband, the marriage is legalized by the proper offerings and ceremonies and by the payment of a stipulated amount to her family; otherwise the marriage is annulled and the boy fined or jailed.

585 Special offerings (*sesayut tabúh ráh* and *makala-kalaán*) have been taken beforehand to the hide-out, and once safely there, it is law that the couple must consummate the wedding before the offerings have wilted. This is extremely important as these offerings alone make the marriage binding. They constitute what is called "the small legalization" (*masakapan alit*), and without them the union would be considered an ordinary, illegal affair. Thus the couple is made husband and wife before the gods, and it appears as if the elaborate ceremonies (*makasapan, nganten*) that follow every wedding are rather the official, public confirmation of it. They consist in the eternal purification by a priest's prayers and holy water, plus additional magic acts to ensure the couple a lucky and fruitful marriage. The great marriage ceremony is supposed to take place within the customary forty-two days after the kidnapping, but in some cases it has been performed considerably later if there is not enough money immediately available for the expensive festivities.

The couple remains in hiding, going out as little as possible, until the ransom money has been paid to the girl's father, all arrangements are concluded, and a lucky day established for the return of the couple. Representatives of the boy – his father or his friends – go, if possible on the day the girl is taken, to inform her parents and to try to placate them, since tradition demands of them to appear outraged although they may approve of the boy. The girl's relatives do not participate in the marriage ceremonies, and it is significant that after marriage the girl takes leave

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

of her ancestral gods and adopts her husband's. The emissaries go to the girl's house wearing krisses and in refined language they point to the virtues of the boy, to his good intentions, and to the advantages of the union. Reluctantly the girl's father gives in, but not until the amount of the "bride-purchase" money (*patumbas wadon*) has been settled. I was told in Den Pasar that the sum may vary from ten thousand to forty thousand *kepeng*, eight to thirty-two *ringgit* (silver dollars)[6] or even to as much as a hundred *ringgit*, which in normal times would be equivalent to 125,000 *kepeng*, quite a fortune for people that buy with *kepeng* the daily necessities of life.[7]

Mapadik. It may happen that the head of a prominent family of caste requests the daughter of a friend or relative as wife for his son to bring two great families closer together by a bond of blood. Such prearranged marriages are decided upon at times when the boy and the girl are still children, and the marriage is performed as soon as possible after the girl comes of age and before they fall in love with someone else. This must not be misconstrued as a form of the much publicized child-marriage of India; such marriages are rare, they do not take place until the girl is a woman, there is no law that enforces them, and there is

[6] Normally a *ringgit* is worth one gold dollar: two and a half guilders. There were 500 *kepeng* in one guilder in 1930, although in 1933 the Dutch guilder had gone up to 700 *kepeng*.

[7] In Buleléng brides are more expensive than in South Bali; Lieffrink stated the price there as from 400 to 600 *ringgit*, and Van Eck put it between 100 guilders to 600 (or from 40 to 240 *ringgit*), but Dr. Korn, the latest authority, mentions in his *Adatrecht* that in Balinese law documents the sum is seldom above 20,000 *kepeng* (16 *ringgit*), and consequently the price would be lower for a girl of low caste. The price is further depreciated for widows, the divorced, and so forth, while the rate goes up to foreigners, for palace women, or in case of forceful kidnapping. Perhaps the rate is exaggerated and it is possible that brides are getting cheaper with the gradual impoverishment of Bali. It is not without reason that Korn believes that the ransom money cannot be taken literally as a price for the girl, since the trousseau she takes along is often more valuable than the money paid for her. The ransom for a widow is not paid to her parents but to her parents-in-law. In prearranged marriages (*mapadik*) there is no ransom money, since many presents and personal services are made by the bridegroom to the girl's father. There is no money paid if the bride's father has no male descendants and he wishes to adopt his son-in-law as a *sentana*, a legitimate son for the purpose of inheritance. Korn suggests that the money is paid rather as ransom to the house gods and not to the parents.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

always divorce to undo an undesirable union. Besides, if a girl suspects she is to be married against her will, she can arrange secretly to be kidnapped by a boy she likes. The *mapadik* marriage, or marriage by request, takes place more often with willing grown boys and girls of the nobility, to whom it is always desirable to marry within their caste, being of course more dignified than the customary *ngorod*, marriage by elopement. The father of Gusti's second wife, a noble chief (*pungawa*), once lamented that all his three daughters had been stolen in *ngorod* and that his hopes that Sagung might have been asked for were frustrated when Gusti took her. *Mapadik* marriage is in general the old-fashioned, respectable way for the feudal aristocracy to marry and perhaps originated with them, although, curiously enough, it is still prevalent among the Bali Agas of the mountains.

Arrangements for the *mapadik* are started by the boy's father, taking a ceremonial present of clothes, a ring, food, and *sirih* to the girl's relatives, who accept by chewing the *sirih* and giving in return a present in the girl's name. These acts establish the marriage contract, although it can be dissolved by infidelity on the part of either of those concerned. The boy continues to visit at the house of his future bride, bringing presents regularly and performing small services for his prospective father-in-law.

It is not uncommon that a betrothed couple may be permitted prenuptial intercourse (*gendak*) until the time comes for the official legalization, the great marriage festival. Among the aristocracy, to whom the girl's virginity is of importance, the defloration of the bride acquires a certain ritualistic, barbaric aspect. In Ubud, where old-style customs are still maintained, I was told of the procedure by which a *mapadik* marriage is consummated, a description which agrees with that given by De Kat Angelino in his *Huwelijksrecht*:[8]

. . . The girl is dressed and then wrapped in yards of cloth like a mummy, until she is unable to move. She is locked in the *metén* from the inside with a number of female attendants. The

[8] Quoted by Korn in *Het Adatrecht van Bali*.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

groom arrives in gala dress and wearing his kris, followed by his retinue, and when he comes to the locked door, he sings in *kidung*, answered in song by one of the old women inside. 585

"I, So-and-so, son of So-and-so, request to be allowed to enter this house; Whoever is inside please open the door."

"He who wants to enter must be an important person who can pay me ten *ringgit*; then I shall open."

"If you unlock the door, one hundred gold pieces is not too much; much less the ten *ringgit* you request."

The servant opens the door and receives the money from the bridegroom, who enters with his friends. They pick up the helpless bride, lay her on the *balé*, cut the wrappings, and leave the couple alone. After a period of time the groom steps out and announces the marriage consummated; female attendants examine the girl to verify her defloration, and the couple is bathed – the man in the river – and dressed again. They stand in front of the offering called *sesayut tabúh ráh*, "to end virginity," and are blessed by the priest. Ten days later they dedicate the offering *tetebasan* and prepare for the great legalization ceremony, which takes place in five days.

Masakapan. It is essential that the great wedding festival take place on a propitious day set by the high priest, the *pedanda*. *Mapadik* marriages are calculated to take place on the fourth or [777] the tenth month, but for *ngorod* the date is set on a good day of the week called *ingkel wong*, one out of every six weeks, in which affairs concerning human beings are propitious (there are, besides, weeks set aside for domestic animals, for birds, trees, fish, and bamboo). After their honeymoon a runaway couple returns to the home of the boy's father for the legalization ceremony, brought in grand procession, carried on palanquins to the accompaniment of cymbals and gongs, *kulkul* beats, and firecrackers.

In Pemetjutan we assisted at the belated marriage feast (*masakapan*) of a Gusti people. Among the higher castes, who like to

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

585 appear rich and extravagant, there is considerably greater ceremony than at the weddings of the common people. Often formal
[202] invitations written on palm-leaves are sent to near relatives, in which is stated the nature of the wedding present that they should bring along – the one I saw asked for four ducks – thus keeping the present tactfully within the means of the donor and avoiding repetitions. In this manner the relatives co-operate in meeting the expenses, for among such families there are always innumerable guests of rank to be lavishly entertained with banquet food and theatricals. Early in the morning the house of our aristocratic friend in Pemetjutan began to fill with impressive noblemen dressed in their best and wearing jewelled krisses, who arrived with retinues of women and attendants bearing presents.
[304] The teeth of the bride and groom had not yet been filed and the greater part of the morning was spent in the hair-raising task, while the *wayang* music played in a corner of the crowded courtyard, mingling with the crashing of the cymbals and gongs of the orchestra that played out on the street. The male guests sat in the places of honour drinking coffee, eating pastry, and chewing
[538] betel-nut, listening casually to two professional story-tellers that sat in the middle of the court reciting the erotic passages of the great literary classic, the *Ardjuna Wiwaha*, also a rule at weddings, one man chanting verses in musical *kawi* language, while the other translated with rich and expressive tones into guttural everyday Balinese. The women wandered about among offerings and presents, in and out of the *metén* where the bride was being dressed, while the boy's father played host, seeing that everybody was taken care of, and directing the assistants who distributed trays of food and poured drinks.

After the teeth-filing was over, the bride and groom simulated domestic activities: she washed a handful of rice and cooked it in a clay pot over a small fire; the groom cut a branch of *twi*, the sort of acacia leaves used as a vegetable, which they cooked together in another pot. Next they were led to a platform erected in the courtyard, a bed with mattress and pillows in which was

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

placed the offering *tetagpulú*, two truncated cones wrapped, one in black, the other in red thread, each topped by a fan of palm-leaf. They sat on the bed, the boy cross-legged, the girl kneeling, and made reverences (*sembah*), bringing their joined hands three times to their foreheads, each time holding between their middle fingers little *sampian*, fans of palm decorated with flowers. Next the food they had cooked together was brought to them on silver platters, and, with their necks joined by a Tenganan scarf with the warp left uncut, they had to feed each other some rice and twí. Their movements were hampered by the scarf and they were shy and clumsy. The guests thought this extremely funny and laughed heartily, making the couple turn red with embarrassment. They gave each other water to drink from a *kendih*, but the crucial test was the mutual chewing of *sirih*, betel-nut, to which they were not accustomed. The boy chewed the *sirih* reluctantly, making wry faces, handing some already chewed to his bride. This concluded the first half of the ceremony, until the afternoon, when the priest would come to perform their ritual purification.

I was told that among the common people the girl walks three times around the offerings (*pangulapan*) holding the *tetagpulú* in her arms, while two of the boy's relatives hold a string across her path. She walks on until the string breaks (*benang tebusan*). Later the couple walks again three times around a small *dadap* tree specially planted for the occasion, the girl with a platter of rice on her head, the boy carrying on his shoulder a pole loaded with good stuff such as coconuts, a chicken, and a duck. Then they sit side by side behind the priest or witch-doctor (*balian*) and pray while he dedicates the offerings. They also take a meal in public — an act which appears to have a special significance, since only a married couple would ever be seen together eating in public.

The blessing by the priest to purify the couple that we witnessed, at the wedding of a prominent prince of Gianyar, was exceptionally elaborate. Three great sheds had been specially

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

585 built: one for the ceremony, another for the banquet, and a third for the entertainment. The principal shed was surrounded by offerings brought by the prince's vassals, and there were tables and chairs for the guests of honour, Balinese noblemen and Dutch high officials, while the populace crowded on the outside. Facing towards the right of the mountains, *kangin*, was a high platform filled with all sorts of great marriage offerings, and in the middle of the platform sat the venerable high priest of the prince's family among his ritual accessories. To the left of the shed was an altar for the sun, fifteen feet high, and at the right a story-teller gave a performance of *wayang lemah*, a shadow-play without a screen.

A murmur of admiration arose from the crowd as the bride and groom came out of the house, resplendent in gold and jewellery. They stood first at the right of the priest, who faced away from them. Old women attendants burned coconut husks and sticks of incense, then touched their hands and feet with an egg and with some of the offerings. Then they moved to the other side, at the left, and knelt on the ground making reverences, the *sembah*, with fans of palm-leaf adorned with flowers of different colours. There were two chairs ready behind the priest, and the couple sat on them, the groom at the right, while the attendants waved symbols of purity – a live white chicken and a white duck – in front of them. They were given various sorts of holy water to drink and various foods to eat – eggs, rice, and *satés*. The priest turned towards them, shook a long grass broom at the couple, and gave them salt to taste. Next he sprinkled them with holy water and later drenched them with ladles of it, poured through a rice-steaming basket, held by the women over their heads, just as in the coming-of-age ceremony of Madé Rai. A sort of shield of palm-leaf was waved at them and each took a blade out of it and placed it folded in the head-dress. More prayers were said by the priest in the direction of the couple, and on finishing he gave each a flower which was also placed in the head-dress.

Next came curious actions with two ropes made of red, black,

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

yellow, and white string, weighted at the ends with *kepengs*. These were passed under the arms and across the backs of the bride and groom, the four ends held by the priest while he recited a prayer. Then the ends of the ropes were crossed over their chests and thrown back. The priest gave the couple a ladle of holy water to drink, and continued praying while the couple fanned towards themselves the essence of the prayer, doing the same again when the priest held in front of them a bundle made of the coloured ropes, which in the meantime had been removed by the attendants. The ceremony concluded with a long prayer (*maweda*) performed by the priest towards *kangin*; a combination of Sanskrit formulas recited silently, accompanied by swift and intricate gestures of the hands, alternated with ringing a bell and flinging away various sorts of flowers. After the purification the banquet was served and the guests spent the rest of the night watching plays and dances.

The woman "follows" the man and lives in his home. Either the eldest or the youngest son inherits the paternal home, but other sons usually build a house of their own on an empty lot given by the village to a newly-wed couple. The first duty of the man is then to build a temporary *sanggah kemulan*, his family shrine, made of bamboo and thatch, which is replaced later on by a more solid structure of brick and wood, when the old one has fallen into decay. It may happen, however, that a man commits *nyebuhin*, going to live in the house of the girl with whom he is infatuated. A man who runs after a girl in this manner is disgraced; he loses all rights to the paternal home and lives as a servant of the girl's family. The opposite may also happen and a *ngungahin* marriage takes place, when a girl, supposedly bewitched, forces herself upon a man.

Ordinarily there is at home a strong feeling of equality, of politeness, and friendly frankness in the relationship between husband and wife, and the woman is by no means the proverbial slave of Oriental countries. She is well aware of her rights, she

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

kris to represent him, as for instance a judge who is sick and cannot attend a trial. In certain cases the marriage of a prince to a woman of the lower castes is performed by proxy in the form of the kris of her future husband. A new kris must be made "alive" by a priest, who blesses it in a special ceremony, reciting magic formulas over it and inscribing imaginary signs over the blade, while its owner dedicates an offering. Ancient krisses are kept alive with offerings of flowers and incense; a neglected and rusty kris is said to be dead.

The economic status of a man is determined by the richness of his kris, and a good part of his fortune is invested in the gold and jewels that decorate it. Only the blade is sacred, and the gold parts, the precious stones and ivory can be pawned in case of need and turned into cash. There are krisses worth thousands of guilders, covered with beaten gold, with handles shaped like gods or demons and set with enormous rubies and rose diamonds. Such are the famous krisses of the kings of South Bali taken by the Dutch as war booty at the time of the great mass-suicide of Den Pasar in 1906, now among the star pieces of the Batavia Museum. These fancy jewelled krisses were made to be worn on state occasions, while simpler ones were used for actual fighting, with more practical wooden handles shaped to ensure a good grip.

Gold hilts with precious stones are of course the most stylish, but there are also some made of horn, ebony, and other precious woods, with a heavy base (*bebataran*) of gold set with rubies and a small ring, of gold and rubies also, between the hilt and the blade. There is a great variety of kris handles, but a particularly interesting model is that called *kotjet-kotjetan*, the representation in ebony of the chrysalis of a large beetle with long antennæ.

The sheath not only protects the kris from outside influences, both physical and magic, but also insulates the vibrations emanating from the kris itself, which may act dangerously on human beings. The sheaths of the super-ornate krisses are of wood

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

252
585

352
585
782

A bridegroom and his bride stirring the symbolic wedding meal, which they must cook and eat together. BELOW, two beds provided with special marriage offerings, ready for a double wedding ceremony

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

O Grandfather Jama Radja, Grandfather Jang Meradja, Grandfather Banaspati Radja, I am offering to all your many subjects, Mr. Demon Spider, Mr. Demon Afterbirth, Mr. Demon Seliwah, Here is the food for you.

He ended with the libation of palm-wine and rice-wine, and *arak*, with the usual formula, and

Wong joerastoe jo nama soetjaha.

(The offering of *seyeh agoeng* is one very often called for and administered to people in trance, when they have been entered by a demon.)

Circumambulation of the outer shrine (Ngilehin Panggoengan)

Now a procession formed, a single file — the bearers of the gods, the ceremonial parasols and spears, the regalia, and the *gegaloeh* bound together with the skein of thread. The women sang as this procession slowly circled three times around the *Panggoengan*, clockwise, or, as the Balinese put it, "going to the right." Thence the procession passed through the temple gate and into the inner court.

Cleansing of evil (Bia kaonan)

There, standing in the center of the court, the gods were put through one final purification rite before they might "be seated." This was the *bia kaonan*, and is in its essentials the very same as that performed upon a bride and bridegroom at their *mesakapan*. Their nails are dabbed with chicken blood, the nails of the hands and of the feet, then scraped with a bamboo blade, and brushed with a little brush of coconut husk. An egg is rolled upon their bodies, and a lighted torch of dry palm fronds waved about their feet, to smoke them. These attentions are followed with the three purifying substances, *tepoeng tawar*, *sesarik*, and *teteboes*. A brush of palm-leaf (*peboeoe*) is used to sprinkle them. For the gods, these ministrations are merely symbolic — the priest does not actually touch the little figures with the substances, but takes up one after the other and gestures in the air with them, facing the gods. In fact, he has no evidence that the ministrations are intended for the gods, for although he begins by offering them the toilet-tray, saying

Wong Padoeka Betara, katoeran Padoeka Betara pengersikan

he has no formulae to repeat while this part of the ritual is carried out. The acts he refers to simply thus: "The gods are dabbed with chicken blood" (*Ida betara tjolekina getih siap*).

When he is dedicating the *sesorohan* offerings,[21] he says:

Pakoeloen Sang Boeta Kala Mertijoe, Sang Boeta Kala Ngadang, Sang Boeta Kala Tjengkingan, Sang Boeta Kala Ngintip, Sang Boeta Kala Ngélo, Sang Boeta

[21] *sesorohan — toempeng* 3, *koelit sesajoet, toeloeng, penjeneng, peras.*

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

1. Infants. New born infants are regarded as close to the gods, and there is no special differentiation as to sex. All children up to the age of losing their first teeth, *tonden meketoes*, are thought of in this particularly holy category.

2. Children. Small men, *anak tjenik*, are children of any age up until they reach the age and maturity to be able to take on adult's work.

3. Men and Women. Adolescence is institutionalized in some of the old style villages, where the *trocna*, virgin boys, and *daha*, virgin girls, have a specific role to play in ritual, but on the whole this distinction has dropped out of the organization of the usual village. Boys and adult men and old men perform the same function in ceremonial, classed under the heading of males, *anak moewani*; young girls and matrons and old crones dance in the same temple dances and prepare the same offerings, under the heading of females, *anak loeh*.

4. Old People. Only the very old, those who are too old to work, to serve as the head of the household in the case of a man, are spoken of as grandfather, *pekak*, or grandmother, *dadong*. The toothless old are thought of as near to small children, and the transition through death and disintegration and back into life again in the form of a new babe is a conception readily acceptable and universally held. The great difference from the Hinduistic orthodox position is that the Balinese as a people do not believe that a soul may be reborn into any but its own ancestral line: it must return within the family, and this precludes the notion of being reborn into a higher caste.

The absence of particularly marked puberty rites, initiation ceremonies and the like, such as are common in the whole of southeast Asia at a more primitive level of development, is of special interest for the reason that rites reminiscent of Borneo and New Guinea are still to be found in some old style villages (Troenjan or Trunyan,[6] for example, or again, Tenganan Pagringsingan[7]). In the more developed, more typical Balinese village the line is not drawn between young folk and older people on the point of virginity, for in fact premarital unions are the rule, and very often a marriage is not celebrated until the girl is pregnant. The ability to bear a child, preferably a son, is in this fashion assured. Whether marriages are arranged or are love matches, the change of status from unmarried to married is marked by the carrying off of the bride (*ngerorod*), a pattern which has come down from the past, actually an enactment of marriage by capture. Like our custom of carrying a bride over a doorstep, or of throwing rice at the bridal pair, the customs persist in the folk ways though their meaning has, to a

[6] Spies, 1933.
[7] Korn, 1933.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

great extent, been forgotten. Only on the symbolic level do they remain true and valid for the culture which practices them; they are the ways through which the underlying ethos of the culture is expressed, through which it lives and continues to perpetuate itself.

Every married pair may constitute a household, a ***koeren***, the unit of the village or ward (*bandjar*). Usually, in a household of a number of children, one of the sons remains in the paternal house while the others move out and set up establishments of their own as they come to maturity and marry. The paternal house passes to the son who remains at home; as the old man reaches the age of superannuation it is this son who represents the household at the village meetings and who does the work apportioned by the village, the temple, the irrigation unit (*soebak*), or the higher authority of the district official government. It is characteristic of the Balinese system that it is the youngest son, not the eldest, who remains at home and inherits the father's house.

Age and Sex Typing. The Balinese have their own special view of the distinction between the sexes and of the differences or lack of differences between them at different times in the cycle of life. The most important point is the complementariness of the sexes, male and female together making up an entity, completing each other. Like the Chinese *yin* and *yang*, the theme male and female (*loch mocwani*) is endlessly repeated and recurrent in every context from the description of the gods to the terms for a carpenter's joining. But, beside this complementariness, there are areas where the distinction between the sexes seems quite irrelevant, the two sexes are interchangeable. Thus, though it is a patrilineal society, and a man must have a son to carry on his ancestral line, if he has no son, a daughter will do. The daughter then substitutes for the son. Various sorts of priestly functions may be carried out by women as well as by men; diviners, healers of one sort or another, godly spokesmen, all these are as likely to be male as female—the women have no monopoly here over hysterical manifestations. Little child dancers may be boys, or girls, or boys dressed as girls, or girls dressed as boys. There is a happy indeterminacy in all of these roles. In the very young, and in the very old, the difference in sex is of no consequence.

Only for purposes of mating is it felt necessary to keep the two sexes distinct. During the years of young courtship there is rather more emphasis on the difference between male and female. There are divisions of labor, between men's work and women's work, which serve to emphasize the difference as the skills are being acquired, but, once a young man and a young girl are married, they form a unit, a "household" (***koeren***) in which either one may act for the pair. They are like partners, of whom either one can

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

When men and women have passed through their age of maturity into old age, they reach again a period in which sex distinctions are of little consequence. This is the age at which everyone calls them grandfather (*pekak*) and grandmother (*dadong*) as terms of respect, when they are turned to for advice in the village, when they are powerful in the affairs of the family. At every temple festival one can see these old men and these old women, busy arranging everything as it should be, telling the younger folk where everything should go and what is missing and what comes next. They are lively and important and, for Balinese, play a dominant role regardless of whether they are male or female. Very often it is these old people who go into trance, dance, and give utterance as the gods' spokesmen.

In other parts of Indonesia one finds people with matrilineal social organization living in areas contiguous to people with patrilineal organization, such as, let us say, the matrilineal Minangkebau in Sumatra and their neighbors, the patrilineal Batak. In Bali, there is no trace of matrilineal organization. Instead, there is the possibility of the substitution of the female for the male. Though descent is reckoned in the male line, the family is to all intents and purposes bilateral. What is more, a man who has no sons but has a daughter may arrange for her a *sentana* marriage with a young man who will enter his household, renounce his own ancestral line, and become the "heir" to the ancestral line of his father-in-law. He then gives offerings at the house temple of his wife's ancestors, just as in the usual case the woman gives offerings after her marriage at the house temple of her husband's ancestors. This sort of marriage is thought of as an adoption and is an alternative to the adoption of a brother's son or a cousin's son in the necessary business of securing a child to carry on the patrilineal line.

This *sentana* marriage and the early adoption of children (*anak pekidih*, asked for child) are written into the *adat*, the customary law, and serve to illustrate how strong is the sense of the continuity of the family line, ancestor to adult to child, whether this continuity be achieved through male or through female blood lines. The emphasis is on the male side, and when relationship is traced through the female it is done substitutively, without any of the aura of matriliny and matriarchy about it, and casually, without very much of the patriarchal either. The old men, the elders of the villages with the more rigid, older social organization, come nearer to the patriarchal attitude than any one in the more modern villages of Bali, yet even here the wives may at times substitute for them in priestly functions. Male and female together, as an entity, is the idea which runs through the whole culture. If a woman acts, she acts as the representative of this entity,

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
OF7 Bali OF7

consciousness of position in space develops naturally together with the use of language, and the words "kadja," "kelod," "koaeh," and "kangin" are frequently heard in the chatter of the four and five year olds. When such a group was making drawings at my house, they arranged between them which was to have the South wall, which the East, and so on.

Every Balinese sleeps with his head either to the North (in North Bali, South; see footnote, p. 2) or to the East. He may not even lie down for a moment in the opposite direction, for the feet are dirty and may not be put in the place of the head. To lie in the reversed position is said to be "lying like a dead man," although the Balinese in South Bali are not buried with their heads to the South. The implication is that only a dead man, who could not help himself, would lie in this dangerously wrong way.

Sense of Social Orientation

By imitation of their elders the children soon learn also on which "level" they should sit at formal gatherings. Within the courtyard of the Balinese house are a number of pavilions, each on a foundation of sandstone varying in height from two to four feet. On the platforms so formed are couches of bamboo, constructed between the pillars which support the roof. It is customary to sit either upon the clay floor of the foundation-platform or on the couches, which also may vary in height. Thus are provided a hierarchy of sitting-places, whose relative height may be easily ascertained, as the pavilions are without walls.

In family groups no particular attention is paid to the arrangement of levels, and a little girl does not have to stop to think whether or not she is sitting higher than grandfather. But on the advent of a visitor, especially if he be of higher caste than the family of the host, politeness requires that he be given the highest place. At a wedding which I attended of a young man of noble birth, a nephew of the Radja, or Regent of the district, the most formal rules were observed in the seating of the guests. On the floor of the highest pavilion sat the High Priests. On a near-by lower pavilion sat the men of rank, and across the court on a still lower pavilion, the women of the family, also of noble birth. Some chairs were provided for the male guests of the "advanced" type, but these were avoided by the more humble members of the group. Even those seated on chairs were on a level inferior to that where the High Priests sat, cross-legged on the floor.

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

*783 *pènyor* and the *lamak* represent the divine couple Mountain and Lake
778 Gunung Agung and Dèwi Danu. The *balé gading* on the *pènyor* is a bridal
532 pavilion for Gunung Agung and Dèwi Danu, just as the *balé gading* at the teeth-filing ceremony is a bridal pavilion for Kumara and Kumari. In the Smaradahana [10], the 12th century old Javanese epic, the *grèha*
[536] *danta* (XXVI.12) or metri causa, *mandira gading* (XXVII.1), denotes the 'pavilion for the daughter of the Lord of the Mountain' to which Manmatharipu (Siwa) betook himself, there to lay with her. Significantly the *pènyor* is also designated as *pènyor pèngantèn* and the *balé gading* is also named *sanggah pèngantèn* (nuptial shrine).

In fashioning the *balé gading* the offering maker begins by cutting out the rectangular floor and then four 'pillars' called *suda mala* (cleansed of impurity), to support the roof which rises to an elaborately patterned point. Then she weaves two *tipat lèpas* (purification *tipats*), the larger one representing the bride and the smaller one representing the bridegroom.
[585] Obviously the *balé gading* of the *lis* is also a bridal pavilion. Next she cuts out a miniature basket, the *longlong lalasan*, the house of the snake, as it was explained to me. However, as far as I know the offering maker does not make any representation of the snake itself.

The *longlong lalasan* is placed between the *tipat nyani*, the bridegroom and the *tipat luh*, the bride, and the contents of the *balé gading* are fastened in position.

What is the significance of the snake between the bridal pair? Is the *longlong lalasan* a relic of an ancient tradition or is it merely an embellishment devised by the offering makers?

[171] The *balé gading*, just as the *grèha danta* of the Smaradahana, must date back to a court tradition of Indian origin. Since the Smaradahana is essentially a Tantric text [11] there might seem to be grounds for assuming that the *longlong lalasan* is derived from the snake symbolism of the Tantric marriage ceremonies. The designs of modern Indian colour prints such as those printed extensively in Bombay depicting Siwa and Sakti, feature large and small snakes. The significance of the snake Kundalini, the Sakti symbol, in this connection is well known. However, much more data is needed before any attempt could be made to identify the snake between the bride and bridegroom in the *balé gading* with the Indian symbol.

In making the lis *isuh-isuh* the offering maker fashions the various components in a definite sequence, beginning with the belly. A definite sequence is also followed in the making of the *lis sanjata*. The offering maker begins by cutting the shapes of the emblems of the four directions

[10] Text and translation by Poerbatjaraka, Bibliotheca Javanica III, Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia (Jakarta), 1933.

[11] J. H. Hooykaas van Leeuwen Boomkamp, '*Prae Muslims Huwelijk op Java*', Indonesië, X 2, 1957, pp. 109-136.

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

This feature of the two *dapdap* branches linked by a thread that is later broken occurs also in the marriage ceremony which, like the *paduśan*, is a lustration ceremony. The marriage ritual comes within the category of ceremonies performed for personal well-being and is consequently listed in the Balinese religious manuals amongst the *mānuśa yadnya* (ceremonies of offerings for mankind) [15].

As with numerous other ceremonies of this category, the *nĕlu bulanin* for example, the marriage ritual can be divided into two phases. The first phase, which I would define as an *adat* marriage ceremony, is conducted by a *pemangku* even when a *pedanda* is also present to prepare the holy water and to present the offerings to the gods.

The *adat* phase is generally regarded as a *pakukutan*, a lustration ceremony removing all impurity. In the villages it is only after the completion of this *adat* phase that the ritual bath of the bridal pair takes place. Following this the bride and bridegroom dress in their nuptial attire so that they might do homage to the gods.

During the bridal procession the white thread joining the two *dapdap* branches is broken by an old woman who walks in front. It is my opinion that the *adat* phase of the marriage ceremony is more ancient than the ceremony of preparation of holy water in the temple by a Brahman priest. I imagine that when this 'Hindu-Javanese' elaboration was added to the lustration ritual, the practice was also adopted of presenting to the gods a performance of the similarly Hindu Javanese puppet show, while the concluding act of the original ritual, the breaking of the thread between the *dapdap* branches, an ancient and essential element of the lustration ritual, was retained.

The inseparable association of the performance of the *wayang lĕmah* with the simultaneous preparation of holy water by a *pedanda* is quite obvious when the actual ritual is observed. The tinkle of the *pedanda's* bell is scarcely audible above the hoarse shouting of the *dalang* and the music of the four instruments played as an accompaniment.[16]

In order to simplify the listing the *ètèh-èth* are divided into two groups

Group I (1–40) miniature replicas of agricultural implements and domestic utensils, some of wood or bamboo, made specially for the occasion, and others, of earthenware, bought in the market.

[15] A mimeographed transliteration of a text entitled *Mānuśa Yadña*, 26 pp. was recently issued by the Dinas Agama Otonoom Daérah Bali. This text was compiled by the Pedanda Gdé Boda, Njoman Djlantik, of Boda Kling, Karang Asĕm.

[16] It does happen that a *wayang lĕmah* performance may be given instead of a *wayang pĕtĕng* at a ceremony in a village – at a teeth-filling ceremony, for example – when the head of the family concerned has pledged himself to meet the costs of a *wayang* performance but has not sufficient money to pay for the more expensive night performance.

8:Hooykaas E-5, (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

to the cock

Om! Thou, Kundi-rakas! Let it be thy task to peck away and fly off to the sea with the afflictions and the blemishes of him who is being purified;
There these defilements will be dissolved;
om am ksama-sampurna ya namah swaha.

Although the women assistants who carry the duck and the cock do not recite any *mantras* I have quoted the material I have found in the various texts, for it is not often that the purpose of a Balinese offering is so clearly indicated.

The drake and the cock are dedicated to the gods of the four directions and they are identified with Garuda, the 'vehicle' of Wisnu. The function of the birds is to peck away the *mala-pataka* (sins and impurities – but in this instance in a ritual sense rather than in a moral sense).

I have also seen the purificatory ritual with the drake and the cock at domestic ceremonies *(manusa-yadnya)*, such as marriage ceremonies, and the *nĕlu bulanin*. The birds are brought to the *padanda*. On one occasion I saw one of the birds actually eating the rice grains which had been placed on the arms of the bride.

A drake or cock which has pecked away the impurities from a child at the *nĕlu bulanin* is not – except from absolute necessity – killed by the parents for eating. The bird may never be given away, and if the child becomes attached to the bird it is regarded more or less as his own property, or rather as his personal 'scapegoat', a repository for his ritual impurities. When the bird dies it must be buried [46].

At ceremonies held for the purification of a person the duck and the cock are wafted *(atabin)* at the person being purified.

This completes the description of the *ètèh-ètèh paduduan* and the manner in which these objects are used, and the interpretation of their significance.

To conclude I give the description, as it was given to me, of a mask play which sometimes terminates those temple festivals where the purificatory ritual discussed above – the preparation of holy water by a *padanda*, the performance of the *wayang lĕmah*, and the use of the *ètèh-ètèh paduduan* – takes place. The mask play, performed by a single player wearing a Kala mask called *tapĕl pajĕgan* [47] or *siddhi-karya* (the succes of the ceremony) is the story of Kala who devoured mortals by the thousands at the crossroads. The climactic point is reached when the performer seizes a child from the audience as if he were going to devour it. Frightened, the child begins to cry, and is then ransomed for a few *kèpèngs*. By this means Kala's power is broken and the purpose of the ceremony is achieved.

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[46] Cf. my paper 'The Changeling in Balinese Folklore and Religion', BKI 116/4, 1960, pp. 424–436.

[47] *Tapĕl pajĕgan* or *topèng pajĕgan*, 23 march–1 may 1961 exhibited in Gemeente Museum, The Hague, cf. guide 'De Kunst van Bali, verleden en heden' No. 145.

2: Wilken--320 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Kei OH13 Redjang-Lampong OD12
Gorontalo OG4 Nias OD11
Timor OF20 Batak OD5
Bali OF7 Malays AN5

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2,000 guilders, among the Batak from 50 to 500 guilders; on the Kei Islands (2) from 50 to 100 reals, among the Niassans

2. Van Rosenberg, Reis naar de Zuid-Oester-eilanden, p. 78.

from 100 to 2,000 guilders (3). Besides the standing of the bride,

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3. Van Rosenberg, Malayische Archipel, p. 155.

the size of the bride price also depends on whether she is still a virgin or has already been married. For example, on Nias widows are worth only half as much (4). Youth and beauty are

4. Van Rosenberg, op. cit., p. 156.

also considered, of course, in some cases. In general there is much haggling over fixing the bride price, as there is over any transaction. Everything depends on whether there are gifted persons to handle the negotiations over the bride price because it is largely a matter of adroitness and fluency. One should not forget, however, that the amount of the bride price as stated is often higher than the amount that is actually paid. The parents of the girl do this, and the bridegroom represents it as such to them so as to increase their prestige. Also it is rarely paid in cash, but usually in goods. For example, where there is live-stock, it is paid in carabao and cattle, otherwise in cloth, dishes, plates, etc. Roko matoro (the name for bride price among the Toumboeloe) also means cloth.

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As a rule the bride price is paid at the celebration of the marriage, and, indeed, the marriage is not considered legally concluded until it has been paid in full. There are often marriages on credit, however, among many peoples the [271] man then comes to live with the parents of his wife until everything is paid, this is the case, for example, among the Timorese,

Minangkabau OD10 Timor OF20
Redjang-Lampong OD12 Bali OF7
Nias OD11 Batak OD5
Malays AN5

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[271 cont.]

with the ambil anak, among the Balinese, etc. Not infrequently the man fails to pay the debt, and lawsuits over it repeatedly occur. Among peoples who are not directly under our authority, even wars between villages are often the consequence of this, for example, among the Batak. It is peculiar, however, that part of the bride price remains unpaid intentionally.

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This is the case among the Malayan population of Palembang, among the Batak, etc. The bride price here, more than elsewhere, has the character of detaching the woman from her relatives. Once the bride price has been paid in full, the woman is detached from her family permanently. Now it shows good breeding to leave a part of the bride price unpaid as a certain bond between the two families. This is called tali-kulo. Kulo is bride price, but here it is very definitely the Minangkabau pronunciation of the Sanskrit kula = family, which also occurs in kulawarga, blood relative. Tali-kulo is thus the same as family bond, and as long as this tali-kulo exists, the woman is not completely detached from her relatives, they retain the right to interfere in her affairs and those of her children. As well as among the Minangkabau Malays, who are an outstanding example of this, it is also found among the Batak and many other peoples.

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As we have said, the bride price goes to the parents of the woman, not to the bride herself. This distinguishes it from the mahr or mas or sri kawin. As a rule, however, the other relatives of the bride also receive some of the bride price. On the other hand, the bridegroom is helped not only by his parents but also by his more distant relatives in raising the bride price.

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It is generally said that bride price stands in the way of concluding marriages and consequently of increasing the population. I do not believe that this can be set up as a general rule. It cannot be denied that there are peoples among whom the conclusion of marriage is hindered by an exceedingly high bride price, for example, among the [272] Lampong (1), the Redjang (2),

1. Ind. Gids, 1880, Vol. I, pp. 978-979.

G [272 cont.]
J also among the Alfoer of the Minahasa. The institution also
583 exists among the Christian part of the Alfoer population, at least
177 in secret, however zealous the missionaries are against it. It is the same among the Christians on Ambon, etc. We have already discussed how the Javanese, although adopting the Mohammedan marriage portion, also retained the full bride price along with it.

[273] c. Abduction

I Another peculiarity of marriage among the peoples of the
585 Malay Archipelago is that it is accompanied by abduction. The
121 abduction is either only simulated, and then it is simply a part of the ceremony concluding the marriage, or it is real, de facto, and is then a lawful way of bringing about a marriage, even against the wishes of the girl or of her parents or both. The institution of abduction in both forms is generally widespread among various peoples in all parts of the world, including the Malay Archipelago. We shall discuss this further.

We shall begin with true abduction. The most striking feature is that the abduction in itself represents marriage, without the parents of the girl having the right to veto it. In its purest form true abduction still occurs on Bali. Next to
Bl ●585 mapadik, the customary way to marry, with advance knowledge and agreement between the parents of both parties, the Balinese know the merarikat, that is, the abduction of a young girl or widow with her consent, and the metagar dong ngadjuk = the abduction or stealing of a girl or widow with force and against her will. In both cases all the abductor has to do is to see to it that he reaches the house of a friend or of one or another fellow-villager, who is obliged to take him in whether he knows him or not, before his pursuers have overtaken him. Once there he need fear no further persecution. He only has to pay the fine in order to remain in the undisturbed possession of the abducted woman. As long as the fine has not been paid in full, however, he has to be careful and not leave his hiding-place for a month

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585 because the blood relatives of the one abducted would then have the right to kill him.

The abduction of a girl against her will is found only on this island; everywhere else the merangkat type prevails. For
MK 585 583 example, actual abduction occurs among the Makassarese. The abductor only has to hurry to the sovereign to obtain ratification or to have the marriage blessed by a priest for a payment of four reals = eight guilders, and furthermore to take the bride price to her [274] parents. He must see to it, however, that this is done in time, because the family of the girl has the right to kill him as long as this is not paid, at least if he is of the same rank or especially if he is inferior.

NL 585 583 Abduction also occurs among the Dajak in the southeastern division. If a young man has obtained the consent of his parents to enter a marriage but is afraid of receiving a negative answer from the relatives of his beloved, he abducts her and then enters into negotiations over the bride price with the parents of the girl.

Among the inhabitants of the Amboinese islands, every marriage is preceded by an abduction. This is called lari-bini, "to run off with a woman," and involves the young daughter following the man voluntarily or running after him and going into hiding with him. The abductor must leave the bride price behind in the bedstead of his beloved to appease the wrath of her relatives. A few days later he visits the house of her parents to ask their pardon, and this concludes all the formalities. In contrast with the lari-bini, there is the minta-bini = to ask a woman, which, however, concerns only the daughters of regents and other prominent persons. Abduction is not an uncommon form of marriage among the Alfoer of Buru. If one is certain of the girl's
Bu 583 affection, it is customary for him to abduct her and to hide with her in the forest, during which time the bride price is negotiated. When this is settled, the young people return and the marriage
NG 583 is concluded in the ordinary way. Abduction also occurs among some Papuan tribes, for example, those of the southwest coast. When the young man has come to an agreement with a girl, they flee together into the forest. Both sets of parents then

2: Wilken--334 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Batak OD5
Javanese OE5
Minangkabau OD10
Bali OF7

[283 cont.]

1. Chapter 2, p. 63.

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883 often visit the girls at night and pass the time chatting. But enough. We shall see later that among most peoples the companionship of the young people is too free to be reconciled with morality.

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585 The betrothal, that is to say, the public betrothal after agreement over the bride price has been reached, is as a rule quickly followed by marriage, which has a religious character among most peoples. We shall not discuss the various ceremonies, but there are a few of the more general ones that we shall examine in more detail. It is self-evident that in the first place a need was felt to make it known by some symbolic act that a man and woman were to be spouses from then on. There was no more definite way of doing this than by having the young couple eat together. Above all else marriage makes them table-companions. Spouse and table-companion are used as an expression to indicate married people, for example, kaenae in Alfoer. It therefore is
J very common [284] that at the marriage celebration the bridegroom
MN and bride must share a bite of food, and in doing so, in many
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585 cases they put the food into each other's mouth.
787 Before the celebration, it is necessary to determine a favorable day for the marriage. The belief in good and bad days, in favorable and unfavorable periods, is generally widespread in the archipelago. No native undertakes an act of any importance, especially a marriage, without first waiting for a favorable date. We shall see how this is done when we discuss religion. It will suffice here to note that among some peoples a number of days are known as good or bad by tradition, and not only these, but also the week, the year, and even the hours. In the Padang Highlands, for example, Sunday, Monday, Thursday, and Friday are good days, whereas the Javanese prefers to marry on Monday or Friday night.

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585 Among the Balinese, after the marriage has been blessed by the priest, the bride takes a handful of rice, which is handed to

Minangkabau OD 10
Nias OD 11

Bali OF 7
New Guinea OT 1
Arfak OT 7
Sumatra OD 1
Batak OD 5

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[284 cont.]

her on a pinang leaf, and puts it in the mouth of the bridegroom, whereupon he does the same for her. Among the Alfoer of the Minahasa the marriage ceremony consists primarily of their eating a little rice and a small piece of bacon and drinking palm wine together, which are handed to them by a priest. Among the

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Papuans of Geelvink Bay, too, the wedding ceremony consists of having the bridegroom and bride eat together. A pot of sago mush is set before the couple. The bridegroom takes a little with his stick (sago is eaten with sticks used as spoons) and puts it in the mouth of his bride, who responds in the same way. After this is repeated three times, the woman gives the man a little chew of tobacco, whereupon he prepares betel for her. With this the marriage is concluded (1). Among the inhabitants of the Arfak

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1. Goudswaard, op. cit., p. 676.
Zeitschrift für Ethnol., VIII, p. 181.

Mountains, the marriage ceremony is performed as follows: the father of the bride takes a roasted banana, breaks it in two, [285] and gives a piece to the bride and bridegroom to eat, which concludes the marriage (1). On Sumatra, too, the bridegroom and

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1. Nieuw Guinea in 1858, p. 161.

bride eat together, for example, among the Batak. Sitting next to each other, they take from a dish a mouthful of rice, which, as a symbol of fertility, is sprinkled with sesame seeds (2).

2. Cf. also Ind. Gids, 1879, p. 832.

MR 585 264

Eating together as a symbol during the marriage celebration is also found here and there in the Padang Highlands, for example, in the Ranau districts (3). Finally we want to point to

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3. Tijdschrift v. Ned. Ind., 1873, II, p. 295.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OBl Indonesia OBl
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3. *Other forms.*—Among the Minahasa, the tie which binds the father to his child is confirmed by him through an adat present, called "lilikur," to the mother of the child. In like manner, the bond between a foster parent and an adopted child is sometimes established by a present.

Numerous other customs are based on the idea that the transfer of some tangible goods effects a desired connection between two persons at the time of the transfer. The small present (usually in the form of food), which accompanies a petition to a person in power or authority, and which in Western eyes is too frequently looked upon as a bribe, is to be understood in this wise. The lawsuit deposit or present, which the plaintiff adds to his claim, is another instance. These presents pave the way for the establishment of the desired temporary arrangement, and lay the course down which the decision can come.

The sharecropper's payment of "srama" (see p. 120), can be linked to this institution. The acceptance of the "srama" obligates the receiver to give an answer or render a decision to the petitioner's desire to use his land, even though it be a negative one. The "srama" is not always the same as the "panjer," but it is certainly closely related to it; magically at least, it seems to be the same.

In the case of the "panjer," the visible token follows the agreement and makes it mutually binding. In the case of the present, which accompanies a petition, acceptance obligates an answer, and sometimes, if it be an invitation, it obligates consent. This may possibly be true of a "srama," too. And the giving of presents also has some compulsion in it.

A concrete token can also be used to bind yourself to decisions formulated in your absence. In Bali, a person who is detained from going to the desa meeting, can give his kris to some member of the nuclear village to take along as a proxy. So the Balinese widow employs the kris of her dead husband to represent him when adopting a child for him after his death. In Java, a prince may marry a concubine *in absentia* by having himself represented by an official to whom he gives his personal kris to be taken along for the occasion. The great lords of Mandar, in South Celebes, magically bind a girl to themselves by sending her a kris. If the girl wishes to be free again, she has to be "bought loose."

4. *Prohibitory symbols.*—The visible symbol which establishes the relation of a person to land or to a tree is of similar nature. Positively, it establishes a legal tie between the object and its maker,